1: Karsten--105 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"The work of dyeing has to be done with great care lest the yarn be spoiled or fail to assume the colour intended. The Jibaro women therefore have to fast strictly on the day when they are engaged in this work. Thus, it is believed, the dye will stick fast to the yarn and remain unchanged for any length of time."

1: Karsten--108 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 784 (1928-29)

"A peculiarity of the Jibaros, which is of great psychological interest, is the idea that when a person makes an object which is considered of special importance he must fast or restrict his diet in some way lest the work turn out badly. For instance, when a Jibaro Indian makes a lance, he does not diet because this work does not need particular care and seldom fails, but it is otherwise when he has to make a shield or a blowgun. Since these objects may easily get spoiled through some carelessness or lack of skill, the Indians strictly observe certain rules in making them. The same holds true in regard to certain other wooden objects, for instance the great signal drum and the canoes, which have to be made with special care. The Indians are of opinion that their own physical condition at the time when the object is being made will in some mysterious way be reflected in and exert influence upon the quality of that object which will turn out good or bad accordingly. In dealing for example with the agriculture and the social customs of the Indians we shall find numerous instances which illustrate this peculiar, primitive view."

1: Karsten--110 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"Since there is always the danger that the drum may not turn out sonorous enough, it is considered necessary that the Indian who makes it should diet for several days and observe other rules of abstinence. If, for instance, he drinks manioc-beer (nihamańchi) in the quantities normally consumed by a Jibaro Indian every day, the drum will be dull and not sonorous. His stomach must be empty, like an empty barrel. Similarly he must abstain from cohabiting with his wife during these days, for otherwise, it is believed, the drum will burst."

"For canoe-making only certain big trees with a straight stem can be used, and of these the cedar is the most sought after. The felling of the huge tree and the excavation of the stem was tedious work before the Indian had the iron axe and knife, and was chiefly carried out by means of stone axes and fire. The Indians still commonly use fire in digging out the stem after it is dry, but great care is necessary lest the edges should become too thin and the vessel burst. Both the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians therefore consider it necessary that the men taking part in the work should restrict their diet and observe sexual abstinence. During the days that they are engaged in felling the tree they can take nothing but roasted green plantains and tobacco water. Manioc-beer, which in normal cases serves the Indians both as food and drink, they are forbidden to consume; otherwise, it is feared, the stem will burst. Afterwards, when the men are engaged in digging it out, they are not only forbidden to have intercourse with their wives, but no woman is allowed to come near the place where they are working; if they do come near, the canoe will burst and become useless.

Besides this, the Jibaros, at any rate the tribes of the Upano, practise the following custom when the canoe is ready for use. When the vessel has to be taken down to the river, the Indians first only do it 'in play', that is, they pretend to do it and go down to the river behaving the whole time as if they were dragging the canoe. When the vessel is really taken down, the women tie a rope to the stem and drag the canoe by it,

calling in the same way as when they are calling their swine. This,[113] according to the Indians, is done 'in order that the canoe may not break'. At the same time the men walk on each side of the canoe striking incessantly on the ground with lances and sticks 'in order to prevent the anaconda (pangi) from upsetting the canoe'. This rite of course has reference to the future use of the canoe. If a canoe is upset in the cataracts of the river, the Indians generally ascribe this accident to the powerful demon living in the river, the great water boa or anaconda."

1: Karsten--119-120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 258, 784 (1928-29)

"The obtaining of the salt is a real ceremony. Great care is considered necessary, since there is always the danger that the clay pots in which the salt water is boiled may burst. A number of clay pots are arranged in a long row, placed on fires made with chonta wood; another kind of wood would not do. Since the salt is produced by [120] allowing the water to evaporate gradually, it must be boiled at a slow fire, and as the water in the pots dries up they must again be filled. The pots, however, cannot be filled except by a man who is specially qualified for this work: it is an old experienced man who has prepared or obtained salt before and is considered to have a 'steady hand'. He must fast for the whole timethat the boiling goes on, for if he filled his stomach with food or manioc-beer the pots would burst and the salt be spoiled. The same would happen, according to belief of the Indians, if an inexperienced man filled the pots. Other men may carry the salt water from the tube placed in the spring, but the old man must pour it into the pots. The boiling begins at five o'clock in the morning and is continued without interruption the whole day and the following night until dawn. Then all the pots should to be full of salt and the boiling is finished."

1; Karsten--120 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 263, 784, 752 (1928-29)

"A full-grown Jibaro man has a special reason for avoiding salt. Salt is regarded as an antidote against arrow-poison and the Jibaros therefore are of opinion that if a man eats salt, the arrow-poison he uses in hunting will become useless. Children, on the other hand, have a special liking for salt, and when they get it, they may be seen eating salt with pleasure just as children among civilized peoples eat sugar."

1: Karsten--157 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"Great care is considered particularly necessary when the channel is bored in the 'gun', which takes eight to ten days. It is especially prescribed that during these days the maker of the blowgun must not cohabit with his wife, lest the channel of the blowgun become crooked."

1: Karsten--159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 278, 784, 411 (1928-29)

"All Indians seem to observe the rule never to use poisoned arrows against snakes, vultures, and other similar animals, which are considered unfit for food and concerning which they have certain superstitious ideas. The arrow-poison in that case would lose its efficacy entirely. Similarly the idea seems common to all Indians, that the blowgun and poisoned arrows cannot be used in war. The arrow-poison with which a human enemy has been killed, it is believed, can no longer be used to kill an edible animal; in this respect the arrow-poison resembles lances and rifles. If an enemy has once been killed with such a weapon, it can no longer be used in hunting. A wild hog, for instance, if killed with such a lance or rifle, would have the same taste as human flesh and would not be eaten by anybody. The Jibaros therefore exchange the lances they have used in war as soon as possible. The Indians told me that in former times they used their blowguns and poisoned arrows in war, but the same rule was valid in regard to them as to the lances and guns, namely, that afterwards they could only be again used in war, never for killing game, since the same weapon cannot be used for both purposes."

1: Karsten--170 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch."

l: Karsten--170 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
784 (1928-29)

"The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die."

"The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house. Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due

to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (túnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them."

1: Karsten--191-192 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 784 (1928-29)

"The preparations for the 'tobacco feast' require as a rule two or three years. This is due to the fact that they mainly consist in breeding domestic animals, swine and hens, and in making new plantations of manioc, plantain, and other fruit. The small pigs must grow big and fat, and the fields must be fully developed, fruitful, and in a flourishing state before the feast can take place.

During the two years of preparation the girl has to diet, being subject to certain restrictions in regard to her food. The rules of diet are the following:--she must not drink manioc-beer (nihamánchi), she is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, i.e. the flesh of the most important domestic animals, she must likewise abstain from eating the flesh of the wild hog (unta pakki), of any kind of monkey, and of those big birds of the forest which the Jibaros mostly hunt. On the other hand, she is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi), the rodent agouti (kayuka), and quite small birds of the kind the Jibaros hunt with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows. Of large fish she can eat the one called by the Jibaros wámbi, a white fish with a red tail and fins, but is forbidden to eat the smaller white fish kánga (in Spanish bocachico), the most common fish in the South American rivers. She is also allowed to eat sardines (chumakai) and certain other small fish called sháchma. With regard to vegetables, her food consists mainly of cooked and mashed manioc, called nauma, of beans and maize, and of a dish prepared of the leaves of a wild plant which the Jibaros call épo.

Not only the young woman herself, but also her future husband must observe the above rules of diet because of the intimate relation which exists between husband and wife.

The swine and the chickens are the principal domestic animals upon which the spirit of tobacco, conjured during the coming feast, will exercise its favourable influence, making them numerous and fat. [192] Precisely because the power of the tobacco is in a mysterious way active in the swine and the chickens, the woman must, during the critical period, abstain from eating the flesh of these animals, lest the tobacco should prove harmful to her. In infringing these rules of diet, therefore, she would expose herself to danger, and the tobacco might prove useless, or rather harmful, even with regard to the animals, so that, instead of increasing, they would pine away and die. The flesh of the wild hog the woman is forbidden to eat because of its great similarity to the domestic swine. Since during the period in question she is supposed to be in a delicate condition, she must wholly avoid eating all animals in which--according to the idea of the Indians--evil spirits could possibly be incarnate, such as monkeys and many big birds of the forest. On the other hand, she may eat all animals regarding which no superstitious ideas are held, such as the peccary and the agouti and, among fish, the sardine.

The prohibition of the fish kánga to the woman is due to causes connected with the

mythological ideas of the Jibaros. According to their tradition, all animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes have in ancient times been men, that is, Jibaros. In that remote antiquity they also used to wage war upon each other, to make reduced trophies of the heads of their slain enemies, and to hold victory feasts, just as the Jibaros do still. Then in a fight the fish kánga was killed by one of his enemies, who was later changed into a bird, the umbrella-bird, ungúmi who made a trophy of his head. Therefore the mouth of the fish kánga is still very much like the reduced mouth of a human trophy (tsantsa), and this is the reason why a woman preparing for a tobacco feast must abstain from eating that fish. She would otherwise come into intimate contact with the angry spirit of a killed Indian.

First of all, however, the tobacco spirit will exert a favourable influence upon the crops, making the plantations grow rapidly and bear fruit abundantly (áha pamboártinyu). The rules of diet mentioned above have also special reference to the agricultural preparations for the feast. If the woman infringes these rules, if she does not fast carefully, the whole tobacco feast will prove a failure; the spirit of the plant will not promote the growth of the fields and make them fruitful, but will bring about the very contrary result. Every Jibaro woman who prepares for a tobacco feast is therefore anxious to observe, as strictly as possible, the rules in regard to fasting which custom prescribes for her."

1: Karsten--216-217 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 834, 784 (1928-29)

"A married Jibaro man not only abstains from cohabiting with his [217] wife for instance when he is preparing his arrow-poison or making a shield or blowgun, after he has planted the narcotics natéma or maikoa, and when he is preparing for a great feast, but also on several other occasions. Thus at an advanced stage of pregnancy he generally abstains from cohabiting with his wife, lest the still unborn child may thereby be harmed. When the child is born he likewise abstains from sleeping with the mother for some time--in most cases, I believe, as long as the child is suckled--nor can he have sexual relations with any other woman. This would have harmful effects upon the newborn child so that it might die. The father's continence in this case is closely connected with the rules of diet he has to observe for some time after his child is born, and which will be described in the next chapter. Similarly, as we shall soon see, a Jibaro has strictly to observe sexual abstinence for a long time after he has killed an enemy, and for some days after a death has occurred. A Canelos Indian likewise has to observe sexual abstinence on many occasions, among other things during the wedding-night itself, as we have just seen."

1: Karsten--224 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 843, 784 (1928-29)

"When a new member is expected in a family this is an important incident which is connected with many interesting ceremonies and many taboos. They deserve particular attention as illustrating in a typical way the general Indian idea of a close and mysterious relationship existing between the parents, especially the father, and the newborn child. Just as the Jibaro or Canelos Indian fasts and observes other rules of abstinence after he has planted and sown his fields or while he is breeding his dog, so he submits himself to similar restrictions in regard to his mode of life after a child is born to him, and naturally with still greater rigour.

These restrictions have special reference to the diet. Among the JIBAROS the woman starts dieting even before the child is born, and at any rate in some tribes her husband joins her therein. As soon as the woman feels herself to be pregnant she abstains from eating salt and sweet things like the papaya fruit (Carica papaya), sugar cane, and a kind of wild grape called shuya. The reason which the Indians give for this abstinence is that if the woman eats salt or sweet things 'the foetus will grow very big' and delivery become difficult. The woman also has to abstain from eating palm cabbage and the intestines of animals, especially of the paca and the wild hog, because, if she eats, the child will get diarrhoea. These rules are, at least among the Jibaros of the Santiago, observed by the father of the future child also."

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

1: Karsten--229 [3] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 862, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The Indian women suckle their children for a far longer time than is customary among civilized peoples, often for two or three years, or even longer. If the parents fast well during these years, strictly keeping the rules prescribed by custom in other respects also, the child will develop rapidly, get healthy, vigorous, and robust. When the fasting ends, the parents make a special feast for the little one, the 'feast of the children', at which a magical medicine is given it by an old man or woman. With this feast the first period of the education of the child ends. Should the parents neglect all these rules, should they not fast well and make no feast, the result would be that the child would not grow and develop well but soon pine away and die."

1: Karsten--234 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 262, 784, 852 (1928-29)

"The first period in the education of the child, ... is that between birth and the 'feast of the children', which is held when the little one is two or three years old. Until that feast has taken place both parents have to submit themselves to the most rigorous diet according to the rules mentioned in the last chapter. Dieting, it should be understood, forms part of the actual preparations for the feast. The rest of the preparations are similar to those for other feasts: as usual, new plantations have to be made, and domestic animals, swine and hens, have to be bred before the feast can be held, which of course takes a long time. The child itself has to diet; above all it is not allowed to eat pork and hen's flesh, nor can it eat ripe plantain or chew sugar cane as Indian children usually do."

"On the return from such a feud the avengers have for some time to observe certain rules of precaution with regard to their mode of life. The restrictions laid upon them are, however, much milder than those a Jibaro has to observe after he has killed an enemy of a foreign tribe, and essentially consist in fasting and sexual abstinence. During the two first days the slayer or slayers must abstain from drinking manioc beer (nihamanchi), the national beverage of the Jibaro Indians. His food consists of boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma, or of another kind of root fruit resembling the manioc, called sangu by the Jibaros and mandi in the Quichua language. He likewise eats a dish prepared of manioc and the leaves of the plant sangu, called ambi. He is forbidden to eat pork and chicken, as well as the flesh of the large wild hog (unta pakki), and of any kind of monkey. On the other hand, he is allowed to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the small rodent agouti (kayúka). He eats only the small birds of the forest which are killed with the blowpipe and nonpoisoned arrows. He eats only the smallest kinds of fish living in the rivers, a kind of sardine, and small shellfishes (chumakaí, sháchma). This diet is continued for two or three months. During the first month after having killed the sorcerer the Jibaro is likewise forbidden to sleep in his house, and passes his nights in a small ranch made on the bank of the river. After the lapse of the month he goes to a natural small waterfall (paccha or sasa) and takes a cold bath, letting the water fall on his naked [282] body. After this purification he returns to his home and may sleep in his house, not with his wife, but in the

ante-room or department of the men (called tangámasha). This sexual abstinence is observed as long as the fasting, namely, for two, or, among some Jibaros, three months. If the rules mentioned are infringed by the slayer the soul of the killed enemy, who constantly follows him thirsting for revenge, will take his life."

1: Karsten--299-300 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"In regard to the diet of the Jibaro warriors, there is nothing prescribed for the time they are preparing for and marching to the war. They may then eat whatever they like. But as soon as a Jibaro has killed an enemy the fasting begins. All those who took part in the killing of the enemy are, during the return home, allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc, a dish called nauma. This food has to be cooked exclusively by the slayers themselves. No other man, and still less a woman, may prepare it. When the warriors eat they never touch the manioc with their fingers, like the Jibaros generally do, but they use small wooden pins to eat with. Their hands having been polluted with the blood of their enemies, the food would become impure if they touched it, and they expose themselves to death.

Moreover, the warriors are not allowed to bathe or to wash themselves in any way until they reach home. Dirty and soiled with blood, as they departed from battle, they should arrive home. This, of course, also holds good for their clothing, their loin-cloth (itipi) and other clothes, as well as their weapons, the bloody lance with which the enemy was killed, and the knife with which his head was cut off. It is not until later, at the general ceremonial purification at home, that the warrior himself and his weapons can be washed. [300]

From the hour when the warrior killed his enemy up to the feast which is called Suamártinyu, and which is celebrated some months later, he is not allowed either to have sexual intercourse with a woman or even to sleep in the same room as a woman."

1: Karsten--307 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784 (1928-29)

"The prescriptions concerning the diet and mode of life which the slayer has to observe during the time immediately following the 'washing of the blood', or up to the feast called Suamártinyu which is celebrated some months later, are very severe and strict. He is not even allowed to dress completely, but only wears his loin-cloth (itipi), tied up with a cincture, having the upper part of the body bare. The hair is generally kept loose and is not arranged in the three pigtails normally worn by the Jibaros. Only at the neck is the hair occasionally tied up. He must not wear ear-tubes, facial painting, necklaces, or other ornaments of any kind. He cannot carry a lance or other weapon, nor handle poison (1) or other dangerous matter, nor go out hunting or fishing or on new expeditions, nor take part in feasts. When the slayer is out wandering he, instead of the lance without which normally no Jibaro leaves his house, only carries a short staff. He is also prohibited from having sexual intercourse with his wife or even from sleeping in the women's department of the house (ekinturu), but passes his nights in the anteroom or men's department (tangámasha). His diet is the lightest possible and consists only of the palm top (tingimi), which is eaten roasted, of boiled and mashed manioc

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"1. This prohibition especially concerns the arrow-poison (seasa), and the varvasco poison (timo) used in fishing."

(nauma), and of the smallest kinds of fish caught in the rivers (a sort of sardine, chumakái, and another kind of small fish, sháchma). These may be boiled or roasted, but must be eaten without the addition of other kinds of food.

The wife and daughter of the slayer must also fast. Their food during the period in question consists principally of beans and of the leaves of a forest plant which the Jibaros call épo."

1: Karsten--307-309 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 777 (1928-29)

"If the slayer infringes these rules the consequences for him will be fatal. He will soon die; he will not be able to kill any more enemies or to celebrate other victory-feasts. Even his nearest relatives will die [308] through sickness or accidents, one after another (1) His domestic animals, instead of increasing and flourishing, will pine away and die. The manioc, plantain, and other domestic plants will dry up and produce no fruits. In all his undertakings he will be unlucky. In one word, the effects of the trophy will be directly contrary to those generally expected from its supernatural power. All this is caused by the spirit of the murdered enemy (wakáni). The revengeful ghost, who takes no rest, follows his slayer everywhere, always looking for an opportunity to kill or harm him, and the latter believes that he meets him especially in dreams. Generally the wakáni meets him in the shape of an Indian armed with a lance, with which he is continually trying to kill him. But the spirit also appears to him in other shapes,

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"1. Every death that takes place within the family of the slayer during the time following the killing of the enemy is set down to the secret operation of the revengeful spirit (wakáni). At a feast where I was present the slayer told me that within his family seven persons had died of mysterious diseases or through accidents during the two years which had elapsed since he killed his enemy. This wakáni, therefore, was considered to have been a particularly bad one."

especially in the shape of a black monkey, a deer, (2) a bear, or some other hairy animal of the forest. This is one of the reasons why the slayer does not, during the critical time, go out wandering in the forest. The wakáni can in many ways threaten his life there. If, for instance, he wanders to the verge of a precipice at the bank of a river, the revengeful demon may take an opportunity to push him over the precipice. He may also cause a tree or a branch to fall upon him in the forest and crush him. If he wears a lance or a knife the spirit may cause his death with these weapons. If he tries to shoot a bird or an animal with blowpipe and poisoned arrows the enemy may cause the arrow to hit the slayer himself. For the same reason he has to be extremely careful in other respects. If, for instance, he has intercourse with his wife or some other woman, it may happen that the wakáni, who is constantly lurking near him, slays him, so that he dies on the spot. Besides, since there is supposed to exist an intimate connection between woman and the plants which she cultivates, the consequence of his having intercourse with his wife will be that the manioc and other fruits, recently planted

"2. The deer, according to the idea of the Jibaros, is the incarnation of a demon (iguanchi), one of the most dangerous animal demons they know. The Jibaros, therefore, never eat the flesh of the deer or even touch it with their hands."

for the feast, will not reach ripeness, but will dry up. If the slayer eats some unsuitable and forbidden food the spirit may again through this food operate against him, causing indigestion and [309] death. On the whole, the slayer must observe the principle to live as retired and hidden a life as possible, for in this way he may more easily escape his supernatural enemy. This is also the reason why he must not take part in religious feasts, or wear body-painting, ear-tubes, necklaces, and other magical ornaments used by those who enter into relation with the spirits, and through which these, as it were, are challenged.

Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that the Jibaro warrior conscientiously submits himself to the severe rules imposed upon him by society, and that the feast itself is prepared and celebrated with all the care which custom and tradition require."

1: Karsten--311-312 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The object of the feast Suamártinyu is partly to give the slayer renewed protection against the spirit of the killed enemy, partly to favourably prepare the trophy for what is its proper aim, namely, to promote the material wealth of the slayer, especially for the period immediately following the feast Numbuimártinyu. In the first respect the feast is of significance for him in so far that he need no longer observe the same anxious caution and strict abstinence in his mode of life that was necessary before. Thus he may again dress completely, tie his hair in pigtails, wear face-painting and ornaments, use lances and other weapons, go hunting and fishing, take part in feasts, sleep with his wife, etc. In one word, he can in the main return to his former normal life, with the exception that he is obliged to continue dieting. Even in this respect he has, however, far more liberty than before. With regard to food he has to observe the following rules. The slayer must absolutely abstain from eating pork and fowl. He is allowed to eat all fruits cultivated by the Jibaros, the manioc, however, only boiled, but not roasted. He must [312] not eat the flesh of the tapir (pamá), of the great wild hog (unta pakki), of the paca (Coelogenys paca, called kashai by the Jibaros), or of any kind of monkey. Of birds he must not eat the tucan, the wild turkey, the paugi, or other larger birds commonly hunted by the Jibaros, but only such small forest birds as are shot with the blow-gun and non-poisoned arrows. On the other hand, he is recommended to eat the small peccary (yankipi) and the rodent guatusa or agouti (Dasyprocta agouti). Of fish he is

recommended to eat the large sheat-fish tungá, and the wámbi (Spanish, bocachupa), but is forbidden to eat the kánga (Spanish, bocachico), the commonest fish in the South American rivers. He may also eat small fish (chumakai). If he infringes these rules he runs the risk of falling ill and dying, and the object of the whole feast will be missed."

"Disease, and especially death, are to the Indians the great sources of taboo. The precautions which are considered necessary after a death will be related later on. Here it may be proper to add that disease or sickness of any kind is supposed to pollute a house to such extent that at any rate the Canelos Indians deem it necessary for the nearest relatives of the patient to fast. After the medicine-man has taken natéma to discover the origin of the sickness he generally gives the relatives certain instructions in this respect. The father, mother, brothers, and sisters of the patient are not allowed to eat salt or Indian pepper during the two first days after the member of the family fell ill. The patient himself is allowed to eat only boiled and mashed manioc plantain and certain small fish called umbúni, tugshi, chuti, shigli, and challúa in the Quichua language. When the sick person is near death, the relatives too can only eat boiled and mashed plantain. When the patient is recovering, he is by and by allowed to eat small birds (shot with unpoisoned arrows) and thereafter certain other kinds of meat. The big sheat-fish (sungarápu) is strictly forbidden to a sick person because the whiskers of this fish are often used by sorcerers when bewitching people.

Only the nearest relatives of the patient are obliged to observe these rules, because of the mysterious connection which is supposed to unite all members of a family. If these eat some unsuitable food it will according to the belief of the Indians, necessarily react upon the patient whose condition will be made worse. Other more distant relatives

or strange people, who happen to stay in the same house, are not obliged to fast."

1: Karsten--397-398 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 753, 784 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros,...at any rate those living on the Upano [398] and Santiago, do not consider it necessary to diet on account of a case of sickness, but only after a death. Both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, however, a person bitten by a venomous snake must avoid exciting spice like Indian pepper, and strong drinks. The latter, besides this, also in such cases abstain from eating salt and manioc, which according to their assertion would render the recovery more difficult for the patient."

2: Stirling--59 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
784

"Each man who has taken a head [KS: in battle] now goes on a strict diet, which lasts for a period of about 6 months. During this time he must remain continent and is not permitted to eat any of the fierce varieties of animals, birds, or fish. During this period the victors never go out hunting alone."

2: Stirling--83 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 411, 784

"The length of a blowgun varies more or less according to the desire of the maker. In general, however, they may be divided into two types: the short variety which are usually approximately 10 feet in length, and a longer type which may be as much as 15. The longer the weapon, the greater its range and accuracy. On the other hand, the long blowgun is an awkward implement to carry through the thick forest. The long blowguns are generally used in hunting larger game, such as wild pig, monkeys, and large birds which roost in high trees. During the manufacture of the blowgun various dietary taboos must be observed and the maker must remain continent, otherwise the blowgun will warp or check.

Frequently a pair of canine teeth of the jaguar or two alligator teeth are attached to the blowgun at the base of the mouthpiece by imbedding them in chorora in such fashion that the points of the teeth curve around the cheeks of the user when the tube is held in position. These seem to be particularly desired for ornament but they serve a useful purpose as well, giving a certain amount of lateral support to the weapon."

2: Stirling--87 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
784

"As is the case when making the blowgun, the maker of a shield is required to undergo rigid taboos during the period of manufacture. He must remain continent during this time, must not talk, and must be particularly careful of his diet. If the proper observances are not followed, it will lose much of its power, and is likely to warp and check."

The possessor of the tsantsa undergoes a rigorous fast (1), that is to say, he abstains from all game killed by arrows, from certain birds and special animals; he is only permitted to eat fish, manioc, bananas without condiments, and certain small birds killed with the blowgun. He paints his body with black lines and on his face wears a streak of the same color which goes from one ear to the other, passing above the upper lip. He travels without his lance, a particularly painful sacrifice for a savage always exposed to an attack (2). Also, he stops all sexual intercourse (3).

This special mortification, which is not peculiar to the feast of the tsantsas, is considered by the savage as the most sure means of obtaining what he wishes: the father, who wishes that his son be vigorous and healthy, fasts until seein him robust and well developed; he who wishes that his dog will become a good hunter fasts too (4) [245]

With the greatest fidelity the Jíbaro observe this difficult abstinence, which lasts from many months to two years, that is to say, all the time necessary for the preparation of the feast; certain famous chiefs take seven or even ten years (5).

1. The religious fast is a practice found among a great many Amazonian tribes, particularly the Purus. --De Santa-Anna Nery. Le Pays des Amazones: L'El-Dorado. Les terres a caoutchouc. Paris, 2nd ed., 1899, page 377.
2. Coleccion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., Sixth letter, page 56.
3. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., V. VI, page 215.
4. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 116.
5. ibid, page 119.

24: Wright--237 (1938) 1942 Jivaro
784

"The examination of the teeth of these individuals [KS: in comparative study of teeth] was attended with considerable difficulties since tribal customs prohibit the touching the faces of children and women by strangers."

28: Tessman--357-358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 756, 276, 784

The Aguarunas told me that an apprentice sorcerer will learn the art of magic without the help of a master. He is forced to keep a strict diet. He is not even allowed to eat much manihot. He lives in isolation in a forest hut. His main fare is a decoction [358] of the leaves of the Datura arborea (maikoa) and, later, kaapí (natéma, according to Karsten) and tobacco. At night he sees the apparition of a ghost, who looks like a white man and who hands him the magic substance and the strings.

The sorcerer must go in person into the house of the victim. He comes in daytime as a visitor, behaves in a friendly manner towards the people and even sleeps in their house. At night, he rises stealthily, as if he intended to urinate, and dispatches a spine with some magic substance to his sleeping victim. The spine (tsintsake) is made out of the wood of the Guililma palm. It makes no difference whether the victim is a sorcerer or a non-sorcercer: the victim can be killed, provided he is asleep. If the victim dies, the spines return to their owner.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
714 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
[554] his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
[129] hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
[796] to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off; eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
[784] Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
[269] self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

727 Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
796 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
273 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
[574] gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
[431] drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
[237] wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
[301]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 754 756 influence of *nateemi*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

[821]

The Muisak[a]

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.* If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed by the Jivaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *tsunki*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mokambi*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pani*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

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Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *muisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *muisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *muisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *muisak* cannot see out," thereby

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recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nampet*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the